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D I S S E R T A T I O N

ON THE
ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY

OF THE
SCOTTISH NATION.

BY JAMES TYTLER.

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THE obscurity in which ancient history is involved renders it always difficult, and not unfrequently impossible, to ascertain the time when any body of people first settled in a country by themselves as a nation. It is certain, however, that the whole world was filled with inhabitants at a very early period: The most ancient conquerors, when they travelled into foreign countries, always found armies to oppose them; and history does not afford the example of one who met with no other enemies than wild beasts or desarts, when he set out in quest of adventures. Nations were necessarily antecedent to all history; and, as in former ages, the whole world seems to have been involved in gross ignorance and barbarism, most nations were ignorant of the manner in which they came into the countries they possessed, or could give only very obscure and uncertain accounts concerning it. History indeed consists mostly of an account of *Revolutions*, or attempts at revolution, among different nations;

nations; and hence in those countries which have been the seat of many wars, we always find one nation mentioned under the name of *Aborigines*, who were conquered, expelled, or destroyed by another. Of these first inhabitants we very seldom have any account; and the greater number of revolutions that any country has undergone, the more obscure and perplexed is its history. Thus, in the northern countries of Europe and Asia, where there has been many successions of inhabitants, we have no history but what is of a very late date. Of Poland, Russia, or Tartary, we know nothing till many centuries after the Christian *Æra*; though we know that these countries were, many ages before that time, full of inhabitants, who poured down in vast numbers upon the southern regions.

On the other hand, where a nation has long maintained its ground in one country, without having been subjugated by a foreign power, there we may expect a distinct and authentic history. Thus, in Persia, Greece, and Rome, we have histories for a great number of ages; and by means of the conquests made by those empires, we are likewise made acquainted with the history of many others, of which we would, in all probability, otherwise have been ignorant even of the names. In this respect Scotland is not inferior to any nation in the world. It has never been conquered by a foreign power. It was visited by the Romans almost *seventeen hundred* years ago; and that not with a view to people an uninhabited desert, but to conquer a people already there; a people numerous and well skilled in the art of war, so that though very unequally armed, they were by no means a contemptible enemy to the Romans themselves. These people were governed by a king; and, as neither they nor the Romans pretended that this was their *first* king, it is plain that the nation must have existed as such for some time before; and how long this time was it is impossible for any person to say, unless he chooses to give credit either to the Scottish histories, or those of some other nation. But the misfortune is, that there are no contemporary histories written by people of other countries,

tries, so that we must either suppose an army of men, with a king at their head, to have started up by miracle, to oppose the Romans, or believe the Scots themselves who say that their nation existed upwards of 400 years before the arrival of the Romans.

The account given by the Scottish historians of the origin of their nation has every appearance of authenticity and credibility. It contains no details of the exploits of giants, demigods, nor heroes, with which the early histories of other nations are stuffed. It does not even say that the first settlers found the country uninhabited. It declares that the Scots were a colony from another nation; that when they came to Scotland they found another nation there, against whom they gradually prevailed, and at last entirely subdued or almost exterminated. This is similar to what we are assured has happened among other nations; and as there *are* no other accounts, it continued to be believed till near the end of the 16th century. The doubts which were then suggested did not arise from any thing incredible in the history of the Scots, or from any newly discovered history of greater authenticity than what had been seen before, but from the treacherous ambition of Queen Elizabeth, who never ceased attempting to establish her authority over Scotland; for which purpose it was thought proper to represent Scotland as an upstart nation, which, having no claim to antiquity, could have as little pretension to independence. It was suggested in the year 1572, by Luddus, that the Scots only came into the country in the year 503. The hint was eagerly pursued by the English writers. Camden, the bishop of St Asaph, and Dr Stillingfleet followed him. Archbishop Usher, and the Irish, embraced the same opinion, though formerly they maintained a different one; and lately the Scots antiquarians themselves have followed their example. Among these last, Mr John Pinkerton seems to have outdone all his predecessors in zeal against the antiquity of Scotland; and has delivered himself in terms so pedantic, insolent, and opprobrious, as certainly deserve the severest reprehension. As he has collected all the arguments,
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however, which can be urged on that side of the question, we shall, in this dissertation, consider what has been advanced by him, as by confining his arguments within a small compass, the inconsistency and futility of them are more conspicuous than when diffused through large volumes.

The general method by which Mr Pinkerton proposes to prove his point, is by asserting that we are not Scots, but *Picts*, or, as he chooses to term them, *Piks*, *Pihts*, or *Pebts*. The *Scots* are only a colony of *Celtic Cattle*, who have found means to foist themselves in amongst the *Piks*, and of whom the latter ought by all means to rid themselves, as these *Cattle* are of such a bad kind as to be utterly incapable of improvement. As the Scots were conquered by the *Piks*, contrary to what our histories teach us to believe, it follows that the country ought not to be called *Scotland*, but *Pikland*. In explaining the origin of the *Piks* themselves, he seems to be greatly at a loss. In some parts of his work, he tells us that they came from an island in the mouth of the Danube, named *Peuke*. He quotes Plautus, calling them *Pici*; and afterwards he tells us that the *Piks* were Germans, Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the *only true Scots*. The degenerate Scots, he informs us, were *Irish*; they were the *Celts*, who inhabited part of Gaul, and never did, nor never can make any improvement, either in learning or arts; and these are the unfortunate Highlanders, whom he wishes by all means to get quit of, by planting colonies among them, or inducing them to emigrate. The *Celts*, he tells us, were *Scythians*, and the words *Scot* and *Scythian*, according to him, are synonymous. The Norwegians, Swedes, and Danes, were also *Scythians*; but the *Celts* in every respect resembled the Highlanders, as Tacitus informs us, that those whom Agricola saw in Scotland resembled the Highlanders.

On this strange rhapsody we must observe, that with regard to the propriety of the name, whether *Scotland* or *Pikland*, it is a matter of the utmost indifference. Whether we are *Scots* or *Piks* signifies nothing to the antiquity of the nation. It will still remain equally certain, that
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in this country there has been, from very remote antiquity, a nation governed by kings of its own, the succession of whom has not been broken by any foreign conquest, though for a long time past they have entirely deserted their most ancient kingdom, and have even disdained to be seen within its boundaries. If Mr Pinkerton, with his English and Irish associates, can produce an history of their *Pikland*, equally consistent with that which we have of *Scotland*, the matter will be doubtful ; but while they have nothing to bring forward but scraps of old insignificant authors, and even these perverted and tortured by the imaginations of their commentators, it is impossible to give any credit to their hypotheses.

Mr Pinkerton's account of the origin of the Piks is altogether inconsistent and absurd. If they came from an island called *Peuka*, then we are neither Scots nor Piks, but *Peukes*, and the country *Peukeland*. If we are *Pici*, let us be so, or Germans, Swedes, Danes, or Norwegians ; but, if we are the *only true Scots*, what is all the uproar about ? At this rate we might have begun where we have ended, and allowed the Scots to be *Scots*, and their country *Scotland*.

The quotation from Tacitus, upon which Mr Pinkerton wishes to found an argument, seems rather to militate against him. Tacitus supposed the people of Scotland to have been of German origin, from their having red hair, large limbs, and blue eyes. Mr Pinkerton, following the hint of the Roman author, supposes the Highlanders to be Celts, on account of their resemblance to that nation mentioned by ancient authors. But, if he meant to argue that the Highlanders are Celts, on account of their personal appearance, he ought to find out the same resemblance between the present Lowlanders and the ancient Piks ; but no such thing is to be found. The Lowlanders have not all red hair, neither are they all of large stature. People of every size and every complexion are to be found among them. If, therefore, we maintain that personal distinctions may be kept up for many centuries among nations, we must allow that the Piks have either been exterminated, or so intermingled

with other nations, that no traces of their national appearance now remain. But this is exactly what the history of Scotland relates, *viz.* that they were so miserably reduced by Kenneth II. that scarce any vestige of them remained, and that whatever had been related concerning their exploits appeared like mere fable.

Mr Pinkerton, in an introduction to his work, has given a short character of most of those who have written in favour of Scottish antiquity; of the merit of which, we may judge from the silly witticism, quoted or invented by the author, that “heat was, till lately, so usual among us, that some pretended to know a book written by a Scottish author, by its warmth; some wags even judged by the parched brownness of the leather cover, arising from the heat of the pages.” Were this the case, our author’s writings ought to be hotter than all the rest; for certainly no Scots author, nor perhaps any author whatever, can excel him in pedantry, self-sufficiency, and ill-nature.

With regard to the characters given by Mr Pinkerton of the different authors who have supported the Scottish antiquities, it will be sufficient to observe, that, with Mr Pinkerton, they are men of learning and judgment, or the reverse, just as he can draw any thing from their writings in favour of his hypothesis or not; but, leaving this detail of the absurdities of our author, it is time to consider particularly the arguments used on both sides.

In favour of the antiquity of the Scottish nation, it is urged, that, according to Cæsar, Britain had its priests and druids before his time; that the Gauls owed their discipline and learning to them; and that they had the use of Greek letters or characters. These druids were succeeded by the first Christian priests or monks; and, as we are very certain that the latter recorded the transactions of past ages, so it is probable that the former had done the same. The druids indeed could neither read nor write; but, during the whole space of time in question, *viz.* 800 years, it is by no means improbable, that the principal events might have been recorded by tradition; and twelve generations might have transmitted

ted it from one to another. And indeed it is allowed by the opposite party, that this was the office of the fanachies or bards. Besides, it is undoubtedly true, that, at the coronation of the Scottish kings, their whole genealogy from Fergus I. was recited by one of these people; and the like ceremony was used at the interment of princes, and is yet kept up in many of the Highland families, at marriages, baptisms, and burials. The monastery of Icolm-kill was founded in 560; and here the Scots kings were buried, and their records kept until the time of Malcolm Canmore. Histories of the Scottish kings were also compiled and preserved in the religious houses in Paisley, Scone, Pluscardine, Abercorn, and Melrose; from all which materials a general history of Scotland was composed by one Veremundus, a Spaniard, and arch-deacon of St Andrews. This writer is quoted by Chambers of Ormond, who wrote his history in 1572, by Sir Richard Baker, Joannes Cambellus, who wrote an history of Scotland in 1260; and, by Turgot, bishop of St Andrews, who wrote in 1098; but the book itself is lost. Hence, we may easily see in what manner the histories of Scotland have been originally collected. The first Christian teachers compiled them from the tradition of the druids, fanachies, or bards, whose office it was to record the achievements and reigns of the kings, and whose traditions at that time we must look upon to be equally authentic with written history at this time. Veremundus compiled from the records of the monks; and other writers from the same records, and from the writings of Veremundus. As the number of authors increased, there is not the least doubt that every succeeding one would endeavour to excel his predecessor; and, with this view, the chronicles of abbeys, as well as public records and private charters would be ransacked. Conscious that this had been the case, the most learned men of the 16th century, such as Erasmus, Gesner, Vossius, &c. paid respect to the Scottish historians; and it was not until they had received a new light at the time above-mentioned, that the English historians declared themselves of a different opinion. Gildas, who wrote a-

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bout the year 540, says, that “he never knew any thing about the Scots, but what he was forced to borrow from beyond seas ;” but, had he known that they were settled in their country only in the year 503, as the modern antiquaries suppose, he must have been witness to their first arrival in Britain ; or, at least, could not possibly have been ignorant of a transaction which was so very recent. In 720, Nennius compiled his history, and informs us that it was compiled from other histories, and “partly from the Scots.” The Scots then had histories as early as the days of Nennius ; and it is probable that it was to something of the same kind that the expression of Beda relates, *viz.* that he could find nothing relative to Scotland, but what he had “from beyond seas ;” by which we must suppose that he meant, what he had from the Scots histories themselves ; for the Scots residing beyond the Friths of Forth and Clyde were counted a nation *beyond seas*. Beda, whose history reaches to 734, accounts the Scots some of the most early inhabitants of the island. The Britons, he tells us, first possessed the southern parts of the island ; after them the Picts came to the northern parts ; and last of all the Scots, under Reuda, made a third nation in that part belonging to the Picts. But this Britain was unknown, and not entered upon by the Romans till Julius Cæsar’s time. According to Beda, therefore, the Scots had a footing in Britain before the time of Julius Cæsar, and fought along with them against the Romans. This is likewise evident from the history of Severus ; for our historian tells us that this emperor built a wall to defend his territories against the unconquered nations, *viz.* the Scots and Picts. Had the Scots indeed been settled in Britain only in the year 503, Beda would never have distinguished them as he does by the title of *Prisci Incolæ*, “original inhabitants.”

Succeeding historians of England speak in the same strain. Hollinshed informs us that “Scotland had, in the days of Brutus, two kingdoms, the one called *Pictland*, and the other Scotland ; which, adds he, I hope no wise man will readily deny.” By Caxton we are informed, that

that the king of the Scots assisted Cassibelaunus, a famous British prince, who fought against Cæsar. Baleus also, an author of some credit, says that the Scots historians wrote from authentic annals. Another argument is drawn from a passage of the panegyrist Eumenius in his eulogium on the emperor Constantius, but which being the subject of considerable disputes among the critics, we shall here give an account of the opinion of both parties concerning it: The passage is as follows. “ Quam (Britanniam) Cæsar ille, auctor vestri nominis, cum Romanorum primus intrasset, alium se orbem terrarum scripsit se reperisse; tantæ magnitudinis arbitratus, ut non circumfuso oceano, sed complexa ipsum oceanum videretur. Sed enim, illa ætate, nec Britannia ullis erat armata navigiis; et Romana res inde jam a Punicis, Asiaticisque, bellis, etiam recenti exercitata piratico, et postea Mithridatico, non magis terrestri quam navali usu vigeat. Ad hoc natio, etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus adhuc seminudis, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.” “ Which island (Britain) when that Cæsar, author of your title, had first entered, he wrote that he had found a new world, imagining it to be of such immense magnitude, that it did not appear to be surrounded with the ocean, but to embrace the ocean itself. But yet at that time Britain had not fitted out any ships of war; though the Roman affairs flourished both by sea and land; the people being well accustomed to war on both elements, both by reason of their contests with the Carthaginians and Asiatics, first in the war with the pirates, and then with Mithridates.”

Thus far the sense is plain, and there is no dispute; the perplexity and difficulty is in that sentence which begins “ Ad hoc natio, &c.” on which Mr Pinkerton has the following observations. “ Buchanan proposes to understand “ soli Britanni,” in the genitive, “ of the British soil;” and the meaning would be, “ Moreover the nation, then rude, and only used to the Picts and Irish of the British soil, (country), enemies even half naked,

ked, easily yielded to the Roman arms." Strange! that Buchanan, so able a Latinist, should suppose *Britanni* here used adjectively; while *Britannici* is the only word used in prose in that way. *Britannus* is merely a Briton, *Britannicus*, *British*.

It is unfortunately upon the explication of this single sentence that the whole argument turns; for, if we adopt Buchanan's explanation, which those who favour Scottish antiquity do, it proves that there was at the time that Eumenius wrote, (the year 296), an Irish nation dwelling in Britain, as the Scots are said to have been; but if any other is adopted, it takes off the force of this, as the objectors will then say that the Irish came only from their own country occasionally to assist the Picts.

Mr Pinkerton solves the difficulty in the following manner: "In the last and most valuable edition of the panegyrist by Schwartzius and Jæger, which appeared at Nuremberg in 1779, in two volumes octavo, this famous sentence, from an excellent MS. often used and referred to in that edition, stands ultimately blameless and perfect, thus. "Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis, et soli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis *adsueti* hostibus, adhuc *feminudi*, facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt." "Moreover the nation he attacked was then rude; and the Britons used only to the Picts and Irish as enemies; and being yet themselves but half naked, easily yielded to the Roman arms and ensigns."

Thus the argument from Eumenius is set aside; and it must be owned that, at any rate, it seems to be very weak; for, even granting that the word is used in the genitive, it will not absolutely prove the point; and besides, it looks absurd to say "*Irish* of the *British* soil," as if Irishmen had grown in Britain. The former arguments, as well as those which follow, seem to be much more decisive.

In another passage of Eumenius, he compliments the emperor on having conquered the woods and marshes of the Caledonians. These woods and marshes are explained by Drepanus in his panegyric oration to Theodosius, where he calls them the woods and marshes of the
Scots.

Scots. Buchanan and Scaliger are both of opinion that this passage is properly rendered; though those who take the contrary side of the question, wrest it to another sense; as indeed it is impossible to write any thing so plain, or translate so well, that it may not be perverted.

The question most difficult to answer in this dispute is; if the Scots are so ancient, why do not the Roman authors plainly mention them by name, as they do the Gauls, Spaniards, &c.? To this however, it is answered, that the Romans never conquered Scotland, and had but little knowledge either of the name of the country, or the inhabitants. That Scotland was inhabited even to the very northmost point, in the time of Severus, is most certain; because that emperor undertook the conquest of the nations who dwelt in the most northerly parts, and is said to have lost 50,000 men in the expedition. Martial and other writers mention two distinct nations at that time, the *Meatæ* and *Caledonians*; Seneca mentions the *Scoto-Brigantines*; and Florus, in the well known verses upon Adrian, tells that emperor, that he would not wish, like him, to travel through Britain, and suffer *Scythian* frosts; which words, *Scythicas Pruinas*, are thought not unreasonable to mean *Scottish* frosts, and that the word *Scythicas*, ought to be read *Scotticas*. This seems to be the more probable, that Adrian never was in *Scythia*, though he certainly was in Britain; or, even if we should allow the word *Scythicas* to remain, it would prove that there was a *Scythian* nation in Britain; for the Romans never called the southern Britons *Scythians*, but said they came from Gaul; and Tacitus, as we have already seen, was of opinion that the people of Scotland came from Germany. It might, therefore, naturally enough occur to Florus, that the people of Britain, who lived still farther northward than those whom *Agri- cola* visited, were real *Scythians*, as *Scythia* lay to the northward of Germany.

At any rate, with regard to this matter, it is certain, that the *Caledonian* frosts were remarkable, as they are mentioned by the poet *Claudian*; and he likewise takes notice of the Scots so frequently and directly, as in-
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terate enemies to the Romans, that scarce any other authority is necessary to establish the point.

Another authority is that of Hegippus, who brings in Ben Gorion a Jew, speaking to the following purpose, *viz.* that even *Scotland*, a country which owed subjection to no place upon earth, trembled at the arms of the Romans. On this, however, the English antiquaries remark, that Ireland formerly went by the name of *Scotia*, and consequently that no argument can be brought from such passages as this. But this way of reasoning must certainly appear very trifling, when we consider that Ireland never was invaded by the Romans, though Scotland most certainly was; and other authors mention the Scots long before the time that they are allowed by the English antiquaries to have come into the country. Of these the two most remarkable are Ammianus Marcellinus and Porphyry. The former wrote about the year 360, and informs us that the Scots and Picts harassed the country subject to the Romans; the latter uses their infidelity as an argument against Christianity; for he says, “that neither Britain, a province fertile in tyrants, nor the *Scottish nation*, know Moses and the prophets.” There are strong proofs also, that Pelagius, the head of a Christian sect, was a Scotsman. Jerom asserts, that he was so, and that he was born in the neighbourhood of *Britain*; a convincing proof that there were Scots in Britain at that time; and not only so, but that they had been converted to Christianity before the year 354.

The only thing that can render this testimony in the least doubtful is, that Jerom, says Pelagius, was born in the *neighbourhood* of Britain, and not in the island itself; but in answer to this, we must observe, that the name *Britannia* was never applied to the whole island till the conquest of the Picts by Kenneth II. about the year 834. Before that time the Roman part of the island only was understood when *Britain* was spoken of.

A strong objection is brought against the antiquity of the Scots, from the name *Scotia* being given to Ireland, and the inhabitants of both countries called indifferently *Scots* and *Irish*. This arose from a similarity of dress, manners,

manners, &c. of both countries. And hence the Irish historians take it into their heads to say, that Ireland in ancient times was called *Scotia Major*. But this very assertion, as Sir George Mackenzie observes, destroys the argument; for, if Ireland ever had this name, it must have been either before the year 1000, or after it. If before it, then Scotland must have at the same time been called *Scotia Minor*, and consequently, inhabited by a nation governed either by kings, or some kind of laws, which would overthrow the hypothesis; but, after the year 1000, the kingdom was grown to such height as to carry a considerable rank among the nations of Europe. The fact, however, is doubtful; and there are only two testimonies brought by archbishop Usher in support of these appellations. 1. They are made use of by a petty prince of Ulster in a letter to pope John XXII. The sentence is, “ Besides the kings of *Lesser Scotland*, who all came from our *Greater Scotland*.” 2. There is a patent of Sigismund the emperor directed, “ To the convent of the Scots, and Irish of Greater Scotland in Ratibon.” But no person can believe that Ireland, as late as the 14th century, was called Greater Scotland; so that these expressions must be supposed to have originated merely from the imagination of the writers at the time, on account of the similarity of manners, &c. in the people. It is certain, however, that, in the writings of ancient authors, Scotland and Ireland are frequently confounded with one another. Thus the Irish are by Orosius called *Scoti* in the year 417; in the seventh century we are told by Isidore Hispalensis, that Scotland was the same with Ireland; and, in the year 1010, we hear of Beaunus, bishop of Aberdeen, in Ireland.

A great dispute now takes place about the meaning of this name of Irish being given to the inhabitants of Scotland, which some will have to be derived from Irvine, a part of Scotland now supposed to be *Strathearn*, while others imagine that it was really from *Hibernia* the island. Certain it is, however, that this confusion, though it cannot affect the ancient history of any kingdom, is made an handle for reducing that of Scotland to

a very modern date. It can prove nothing but that the Scots were the same people with the Irish; but whether Scotland was peopled from Ireland, or Ireland from Scotland, cannot from thence by any means be concluded.

The origin of the Picts is no less obscure than that of the Scots. Tacitus, if we suppose it was the Picts whom Agricola encountered, supposes them to have been Germans; others derive their origin and their name from the Pictories in France; others suppose them to have been Scythians or Thracians; but the most probable opinion seems to be, that they were no other than Britons, and that being accustomed to paint their bodies, they had their name of Picts from this circumstance. The only difficulty that occurs in this supposition is, that, according to it, all the people in Britain should at first have had the same name, for all of them painted their bodies. To this, however, it may be answered, that the Britons, who were at first very rude and barbarous, became by degrees much more civilized under the Romans; of consequence they would lay aside their barbarous customs, and painting their bodies among the rest; while those who dwelt in the more northerly parts, not having the same advantages, continued in the same state as before. It is, however, remarkable, that no ancient author informs us what was the name which either the Britons, Picts, Caledonians, or any other British nation, gave to themselves. It is most probable that the word *Scoti* was a corruption of *Scythæ*, as people of such barbarous manners might well be supposed to come from Scythia, the most barbarous country at that time known in the world.

We must now take some notice of the arguments adduced by Mr Pinkerton on the contrary side; whose extravagant pretensions to learning must undoubtedly set him at the head of the whole party. He begins with treating all his countrymen in the most contemptuous manner that can be imagined. He tells us, that it is impossible to condescend upon *one* writer in Scotland, “who (not to mention ERUDITION), can even bear the appellation of *learned*, in the common acceptation of the word.” This undoubtedly is said with a design to make his own performance

performance appear of greater consequence, yet he allows in the very next page that their are *three* learned works done by Scotsmen, viz. Dempster's *Rosinus*, his *Etruria*, and Blackwell's *Inquiry* into the life and writings of Homer. As the Scots have no learning, neither have they any invention. "We cannot, says he, like Denmark, boast of a Tycho Brahe, nor like Sweden of a Linnæus, nor like Poland of a Copernicus;" but what a mercy it is, that Scotland has produced Mr Pinkerton, *the Pick*, whose admirable performance is sufficient at once to wipe off all our disgraces, and to supply all our defects. Let us hear then what this redoubted champion has to say for himself.

"The Celts, (says our author), were the most ancient inhabitants of Europe. Before the time of Cæsar, they were reduced to a third part of Gaul, and the western part of Britain and Ireland. But before they were expelled by the Scythians of Asia, they appear to have held the most of Europe. The Cimmerii, driven by the Scythians from the Euxine, were the same with the Cimbri, and the Cimbri were Celts. The Celts being expelled by the Scythians, and driven into the western extremities of Europe, about 500 years before Christ, are mentioned only by the earliest writers of Greece as a people living far to the west. The marks of their former residence, however, are evident in the names of hills and rivers. These in Scotland are very often called the Welsh or *Cumraig*.

"To give this fact full weight, we must remark, that, according to Beda, the *Piks* were *Scythians*, (a name by Jomandes, and other writers in the middle ages given to the Scandinavians), and, according to Tacitus, Germans. Both accounts therefore concur in making them Scythians or Goths, so that the Celtic names cannot be theirs. The Dalriads, or present Highlanders, were only a paltry Irish colony, never extended beyond Argyle, till a late period. Nor could the names be theirs, since the Welsh differs widely from the Irish; of consequence they must belong to a nation preceding both.

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“ The Irish call their tongue *Gaelic*, or Gaulish ; and the Welsh call theirs *Cumraig*, (*Cimbric* we suppose). The Celts consisted originally of two vast divisions, the Gael, or Gauls, who held all Gaul, and the Cimbri who held all Germany. As the fourth part of Britain was first peopled by Gael, who were afterwards expelled by Cumri from Germany ; whence there is reason to infer, that the north part of Britain was first peopled by Cumri from Jutland. For the passage from the Cimbric Chersonese to North Britain, through open sea, was far more easy than from the south of Britain to the north, through vast forests. Sea, far from hindering, promotes savage colonization ; and late navigators have found islands, in the Pacific Ocean, five or six hundred miles from each other, all peopled by one race of men. Where men and sea are found, canoes are also found, even in the earliest state of society ; and the savage Fins and Greenlanders perform far longer navigations than from Jutland to Scotland. The length of Britain is so great from south to north, that, to populate the latter from the former must have been a work of many ages ; whereas the passage from Germany is open and easy. The Piks, *as shall be shown afterwards*, came from Norway to Scotland ; and analogy may infer that the first Celtic inhabitants of the latter country proceeded from the north of Germany.

“ The Cimbri held Scotland till the Piks came and expelled them ; an event which happened about *two hundred* years before Christ, as shall be afterwards shown. The Celtic nations had been driven to the west of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, by the Scythians or Goths, at least *three hundred* years before Christ, (which of these two dates are we to believe) ? and their remains were so intermingled with their conquerors, that their manners were half Gothic, even before the Christian *Æra*, and have always been getting more and more so. Hence no account of real Celtic manners or language can be recovered. But, from every argument of ancient authority, and of their manners recorded by succeeding authors of the middle ages, and existing at this day, the ancient Celts must have been mere savages. When the Scythi-

ans poured into Europe from the shores of the Euxine, the Celts were to them as the savages of America to the European settlers. The Fins and Celts were the sole indigenæ (original inhabitants) of Europe; and the manners of the Laplanders alone can afford any analogy whereby to judge of those of the real Celts. This century has been overwhelmed with nonsense concerning Druidism, and Druidic monuments, as being universal among the Celts. Druidism, as we know from Cæsar, was a late invention in South Britain; and it was totally abolished by Tiberius. It was palpably Phœnician, and was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin; nor is there a single authority, in all antiquity, for its ever extending, during the century or so that it existed, beyond the island of Mona or Anglesey, and the Garonne, or southern boundaries of Celtica in Gaul. Tacitus knew of no Druids either in Germany or Caledonia; and there is not a shadow of authority for Druids in Ireland. Druidic monuments form another idle dream of antiquists; but the Celts had no monuments any more than the *Fins*, or savage Africans or Americans; and those monuments are really Gothic, and are common in Scandinavia and Iceland, where no Druids were known. Those ignorantly called Druidic temples, are Gothic courts of justice, used for that purpose in Scandinavia and Iceland, down to a late period."

Such is the account given by this *very learned* author. Some parts of it depend on a dissertation *at the end* of his work; and of this dissertation, which ought certainly to have been at the *beginning*, it is necessary that we should take some notice, before we give any formal answer to the arguments he has adduced. In this he says, "that there are such grounds as so remote an event can afford to believe that the *Peukini*, who by all accounts proceeded from the isle of *Peuke* in the mouth of the Danube, were originally the *Piki* of ancient Colchis. These *Piki* are placed by Pliny between the river Don and the Caspian Sea, and were remarkable in ancient fable. According to Nonnus, they were the Griffins, against whom the

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Arimaspi

Arimaspi fought to get the guarded gold. Plautus celebrates their golden mountains," (which if they possessed, they certainly acted very imprudently when they came to Scotland). "On the Argonautic expedition, 1263 years before Christ, a party of Colchians, pursuing the Argonauts without success, settled at the mouth of the Danube. The kingdom of Colchis was anciently very large and powerful, and included many nations. Of these it is highly probable that the *Piki* were one; and were those Colchian subjects who were sent in pursuit of the Argonauts. If the *Piki* were the real ancestors of the *Peukini*, and settled in *Peuke* 1263 years before Christ, they might easily, in the course of less than 700 years, populate the space between *Peuke* and the Baltic, and, passing the Baltic, possess the south of Scandinavia more than 500 years before Christ; a period, about which it would appear that their Scythic brethren had peopled all Germany to the British seas.

Tacitus, the first writer who mentions the people of Caledonia, or *Piks*, expresses his opinion that they were of German origin. Bada tells us they came from Scythia, a name which Jornandes, about 530, had given to Scandinavia; and which continued to be applied to that country till the eleventh century, when the special denominations of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, became known to Europe. All the other ancient writers who mention the origin of the *Piks*, derive them from Scandinavia; so that no doubt can remain, save with such shallow dreamers as speak of opinions, when they should speak of facts, and prefer their own weak conceits to that positive evidence, upon which alone all ancient history stands.

"Scandinavia was, by the Romans, who only knew a small part of its southern coasts, esteemed, not improperly, a German island. It is indeed more properly a vast island than a peninsula; as its extent is so great, and the part that connects it with the Continent so narrow. For, all the south, west, and north quarters are surrounded with sea; and, on the east, the lakes of Ladaga and Onega are connected by large rivers, or rather outlets; and

and between the lake Onega and the White Sea, being the only part where there is a passage into Scandinavia by land, there is another lake and river rendering that single passage not above two miles broad.

“ This vast island appears to have been first peopled by Fins and Laplanders, whom *Ihre* thinks the first inhabitants of the whole. But there is great reason to suppose, that these people, being from the east, had not extended farther west than their present bounds, when they were stopped by the Scythians or Goths from the south; for there are no Finnish or Laplandic names in Norway, though, had there been any such given to rivers or mountains, they must have, in some cases, remained.

“ Now, it can clearly be shown that Scandinavia was, down to a late period, nay is at present, almost overrun with enormous forests, where there was no room for population. Adam of Bremen, who wrote in the eleventh century, instructs us, that, even in Denmark, the sea-coasts alone, at that time, were peopled, while the inner parts of the country were one vast forest. If such was the case in Denmark, we may guess that, in Scandinavia, even the shores were hardly peopled. Scandinavia is also a most mountainous region; and, among a barbaric and unindustrious people, the mountains are almost unpeopled.

“ That the shock which drove the Cimbri and Teutones out of the north of Germany must have come from the north of their possessions is clear; for, had it proceeded from the south, they must have been driven into Scandinavia. In other words, the Scandinavians must have expelled the Cimbri and Teutones; and it is reasonable to infer, of course, that they took their seats. Hence it appears, that Jutland, and the Danish isles, were peopled with Goths from Scandinavia, and not from Germany.

“ In fact, the only colonies that ever went from Scandinavia, were the Picts into Scotland, the opposite shore, the Danes into Denmark; and, at a late period, the Normans into France; and a few small colonies into Iceland and the neighbouring isles.” Our

Our author next goes on to prove, in the following manner, that the Píks came from Scandinavia.

1. We are informed by Torfæus, (who must surely be a great antiquary if he says any thing that can be construed into a support of Mr Pinkerton's system), that anciently a country of Norway was called *Vika*, and the adjacent islands the *Víkr* isles. This country comprehends the modern government of Agerhus, and is about 200 miles long, and 100 broad. "It is remarkable," says Mr Pinkerton, "that it lies on the east, and not on the west of Norway, where one would naturally imagine that the government of Bergen, being the whole south-west part of Norway, and stretching along the western ocean, would have been the natural parent of these Píks who crossed that small tract of ocean which lies between Norway and Scotland. But these affairs do not happen in such formal order; else the Dutch, and not the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, would have seized England. It may, however, well be inferred, that, in times preceding any *Sagas*, or other memorials of Norwegian history, the whole Norwegians were called *Píktar*, as being *Píukini*; though afterwards this name only remained to a great part, as Essex and Middlesex, or East Saxony and Middle Saxony, remain names of counties in England, though not a quarter of the ancient dominions of the Saxons in that country. Be this as it may, it is sufficient to show, that the ancient *Vika* stretched along that sea which is to the south of Norway, to the extent of about 150 miles; for *Vík-Siden*, or the *Vík-Side*, spread, even in the time of Torfæus, down to Bahus on the east. Here were 150 miles of sea-coast open to the people of *Vika*, directly opposite to the north of Scotland, and only about 240 miles from it.

2. "There are no *Sagas*, or northern historians, older than the 11th century. Arius Frodi, the first historian, is of the *twelfth*, and Snorro Sturleson, of the *thirteenth*. The history of Norway is therefore very obscure till we come to the year 950; when Harold Harfagre, one of the petty Norwegian kings, conquered ten or twelve others, and thus became master of all Norway; and, among

among the conquered kingdoms, Torfœus mentions that of *Vika*. The same author describes *Vik-Siden*, a great part of the coast of the ancient *Vika*, yet retaining that name, as a beautiful country ornamented with large plains, thick woods of fir, and moderate hills, that, swelling down to the shore, are intersected with large and small creeks.

“ Torfœus, in his history of Norway, is quite full of *Vika* as a country of Norway, and as bordering on the south-sea, the most exposed to invasions. Of its kings, however, there are few, of which even the names are known; and the whole history of Norway, prior to the year 900, borders upon Romance. It is sufficient to observe, that the names *Vik*, and *Vikar*, can be traced in Scandinavia, so as to show that they must have been once much spread. *Vikia* in Sweden, is a tract of *Ostrogothia*, four miles long, and one and an half broad. In *Esthonia*, on the south-west shore of the Baltic, is another *Vikia*, twelve miles long, and ten broad. These small spots being in the direct road in which the *Peukini* proceeded into Scandinavia, shows it to be not altogether unreasonable to suppose that they took their names from some of these people settled there in their passage to Norway.

3. “ Scandinavia, as has already been observed, was always mountainous and ill peopled; nevertheless it has sent forth colonies to Scotland, Denmark, France, Russia, Iceland, and Greenland, Ireland, the Hebrides, and Orkneys. Now it is remarkable, that, in the three first of these colonies, the name of *Vikar*, the chief people of ancient Norway occurs. The *Piks* bear it expressly, with the mere change of a labial letter, viz. *Pikar* instead of *Vikar*; for the northern nations, fond of close and hard sounds, as the cold climate renders their fibres rigid, and makes them speak much through the teeth, or, with as close lips as possible, naturally preferred the close *V* to the open *P*, and thus changed the ancient *Vikar* to *Pikar*. The *Jutes* are, by the northern nations, called *Teuts*, and *Jutland*, *Teutland*; but this country was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*, and its inhabitants *Vits*, or *Pits*. Nor was this appellation of *Vits* or *Pits* confined to Jutland, but

but extended even to the Danish islands; for Meursius informs us, that, in ancient times, Zealand, the grand seat of the Danish monarchy, Langland and Mona were called *Vitslctt*, or the *field of the Vitts*. In the third colony of the Normans in France, though later than the two former by a thousand years, and not caused by an overflow of people, but merely by numbers of the Norwegians leaving their country, where Harold Harfagre exercised the tyranny of an universal conqueror, we still find this eminent name. For the province of *Picardie*, the derivation of the name of which has baffled all the French antiquaries, was the earliest settlement of the Normans in France, who thence went to besiege Paris, and afterwards acquired Normandy. But Picardy, being actually seized and possessed by them for some time before they gained Normandy, it was not included in the grant of that province, because it was already theirs by full conquest and possession. The name of Picardy is unknown till the *thirteenth* century, when Guillaume de Naugis first uses it, as Matthew of Paris, under the year 1229, speaks of the Picards who border on Flanders. It was about the year 900, that Gange Hrolf, or Rollo the *Walker*, (so called, because no horse could support his weighty stature), a Norwegian earl, who as not dishonourable in that age, practiced piracy, landed and ravaged a part of Vika. Harald Harfagre, the new monarch of all Norway, banished Rollo, who first passed to the western isles of Scotland, then invaded England, but without any success; and at last went to Neustria, the present Normandy, in France. After ravaging a great part of the north of France, and besieging Paris, at length a treaty in 912 was made, by which all Normandy was yielded to Rollo and his followers. It was in 1205 that Normandy was reunited to France by Philip Augustus; and it is remarkable, that the name of Picardie first begins to appear at this time. This seems owing to the writers of the Norman history being Frenchmen, and other foreigners, who used a general name for the whole people. But, when the French had gotten possession and complete knowledge of the country, they found that the inhabitants

ants of the eastern part called themselves *Picars*, and used that denomination for them in course."

We have now the whole of the essential part of Mr Pinkerton's book on the antiquities of the Scots and Picts. It is impossible for the most superficial reader not to perceive that he frequently contradicts himself; that he founds upon the most uncertain and fabulous parts of history, and very often upon the mere resemblance of words to one another, two species of evidence, which, on other occasions, he treats with the utmost contempt. In some cases he confounds almost all the nations of antiquity; and in others makes the most ridiculous distinctions.

To expose fully the whole of Mr Pinkerton's rhapsody in the manner it deserves, would require a much larger space than can be spared for this dissertation. We must therefore content ourselves with pointing out some of the most glaring absurdities.

In speaking of the Picts, he in one place makes them Scythians, Germans, Goths, and Scandinavians; and he quotes Jornandes, saying, that the Scandinavians were Scythians. But, if we are allowed thus to confound nations together, we may find a salvo for every contradiction we choose to assert. Nay, by referring the whole human race to Adam or Noah, we may at once unite all nations that ever did or will exist. It is most evident, that the Romans distinguished the Germans from the Scythians, and both of them from the Goths. The Goths were not heard of in the time of Tacitus; and Scandinavia only came to be called *Scythia* in the middle ages. It is also worthy of remark, that Mr Pinkerton, upon other occasions, calls Jornandes a *silly writer*; though, when it serves his turn, he quotes him as very good authority.

In the detail our author gives of the migration of the Picts, we are left without any authority whatever but his own bare assertion, or rather improbable conjecture. He supposes that a savage nation would rather cross the sea in quest of unknown countries, than traverse woods in the search of a peaceable abode in that where they were. But this does not by any means appear to be the case. People, whether savage or civilized, do not very readily embark

embark on the boundless ocean in quest of imaginary regions, which every country must be to those who never heard of it. Some savages there have been, situated in remote islands, who never heard of any country but their own, and these never imagined that there was any other. Such were the inhabitants of the Canary islands, when these islands were rediscovered by the Spaniards. These were as savage a race as ever existed, yet they never thought of any other country than their own, nor did they believe that it existed. In like manner the American savages, though in a most degenerate state, did not hesitate at traversing the immense forests of America, though they never attempted a sea-voyage. The reason of this is evident; namely, that there was no country within sight of them; their canoes were by no means fit for such undertakings; and, unless the countries be within sight of each other, we may very readily believe that none will ever be discovered by people in a very savage state, if the discovery be not made by mere accident. As the southern part of Britain, therefore, is within sight, or very nearly so, of France, there is every reason in the world to believe that the former was originally peopled from France. But it was otherwise with Denmark and Scotland; and therefore we must suppose, either that the inhabitants of Jutland discovered our country accidentally, or that they did not settle there until they had an account of it from some other nations. But we have no proof of the former of these suppositions, and the latter is contrary to Mr Pinkerton's hypothesis; for other nations could not hear of the country until it was peopled, and had begun to make some figure in the world; so that the only rational hypothesis is, that the northern parts of the island were peopled from the southern.

The objections made by Mr Pinkerton to this scheme are entirely frivolous and chimerical. Civilized people are obstructed by woods much more than savages, who constantly live in them. When Cæsar came among the Britons, he found them dwelling, and having even their cities in woods. Being at that time in a state of continual warfare with one another, we can have little doubt

that the vanquished, or weaker parties, would gradually remove farther and farther to the northward, until there was no farther space to receive them. It is likewise worthy of notice, that the farther they were scattered, the more savage would they become; for, when people are confined within narrow bounds, they are forced to unite, and to perform some of the social duties of life through fear of one another, should no other motive influence them. Hence also they soon begin to cultivate some art or science, for men must have employment of some kind or other; and when prevented from doing mischief, will do good rather than be idle. Thus, in the small islands of the South Sea, the people, though uncivilized, appear much less savage than on the vast continents of America or New Holland; on which last they are sunk so deep in savage barbarism, that they seem to be in a manner incapable of civilization.

The only thing in which our author appears consistent with himself throughout his whole performance, is in railing against the Celts; though, when he begins to give any historical account of them, his inconsistency becomes no less manifest than in other cases. He tells us, for instance, in one sentence, that there is no account of their manners to be got, as they were half Gothic from the earliest history of them; and in the next we are informed that they were like the Finns, or savages of America. But, unless he knew the manners of the Celts, it is altogether impossible that he should know whether they were like the Finns or not. Another contradiction is his telling us that their manners were half Gothic; though he had just before said that *no* account of their manners was to be had; yet all at once, as if by miracle, we know one half of them. As he owns, therefore, that the manners of the Celts were half Gothic, we cannot tell whether this mixture of Gothicism might have enabled them to raise some monuments, even though they would not have done so as Celts.

Thus our author has found means to fill Britain and Ireland with a kind of mongrel nation, which may occasionally be either Welsh, Scythians, Goths, Irish, or Scots,

as he pleases; but this is not sufficient. In accounting for the origin of the *Piks* in the manner already quoted, he tells us that the antiquities of a nation are either *poetical* or *historical*; the former being *neither true nor false*; on which account he requests his readers to attend to this distinction, that they may not accuse the author of lending *historical* faith to *poetical* evidence; and after this very curious exordium, he proceeds in the manner we have already quoted.

In his account of Scandinavia, which all the world knows to be a peninsula, he labours hard to prove it to be an *island*, because it would answer his purpose better to have it so. The *narrow* neck which connects it with the Continent, is *two hundred and eighty* miles broad; and if we trace the courses of rivers, we may by their means prove that the whole world is no other than a cluster of islands. He tells of the cold of the climate being so severe, that the inhabitants could not pronounce the word *Viker*, but changed into *Pikar*. But if this be true, how came the word *Pikar* into existence? Was it not an invention of the Scandinavians? Was the country less cold when this word was coined than it is now? or was *Pikar* their summer name, and *Vikar* their winter one? With equal absurdity does our author insinuate, that the two first colonies sent out by the Scandinavians were caused by the too great numbers of people contained in the country, when, in other places of his work, he uniformly maintains that it was barren, mountainous, and incapable of supporting many inhabitants. “Scandinavia, (says he), is one of the most mountainous regions in the world; and such countries are always thinly inhabited, as it always has been, and is at present.” Notwithstanding this paucity of inhabitants, however, this most extraordinary author informs us that a *colony* of the Scandinavians expelled from their seats the Cimbri and Teutones, who invaded Italy. To do this was certainly no easy matter; for the number of these barbarians appear to have been incredible. After ravaging Spain, and fighting the Romans in that part of the world, by which their original number must undoubtedly have been

been diminished, the *Teutones* alone were defeated by Marius, the Roman general, with such slaughter, that their bones were used for fences to vineyards in that part of the country. The *Ambrones*, a nation in alliance with them, were defeated with the loss of 70,000 killed on the field of battle, besides those who were taken prisoners. Yet still the *Cimbri* remained like a cloud of locusts in number. Their infantry alone, when drawn up in order of battle, (and close they must have been, as they tied themselves close together with cords to keep them from breaking their ranks), occupied thirty furlongs square. Now, though this multitude was vanquished by the superior discipline and military skill of the Romans, yet we have no reason to imagine that the Scandinavians possessed equal advantages with them. If they overcame the *Cimbri*, therefore, we must suppose that it was rather by dint of superior numbers, than superior valour; and no colony upon earth ever equalled half the number.

Our author labours to prove that the *Cimbri*, who are supposed to have inhabited Denmark, must have been driven out by the Scandinavians, because they travelled southward; but it remains to be proved that they were driven out by any body. The circumstance is related by no historian, nor does Mr Pinkerton assign any other reason for his supposition, than that they took a southerly route. But we may very easily assign a reason why they took this direction rather than any other, without being urged by a foreign enemy. The Roman empire had by this time attained a great height of power; the northern barbarians could not but hear of this, and there can be no doubt that exaggerated reports would be brought them of the wealth and ease in which the subjects of that empire lived. To possess themselves of this wealth, and to conquer such a mighty empire, were motives natural enough to induce barbarians to leave their country; and it seems most probable, that the whole nation did so, and left their own country almost desolate.

Our author, not contented with giving us an account of the *Piks* in their progress from the isle of *Pcuke* to Scandinavia,

Scandinavia, presents his readers with a dissertation on the origin of the Scythians or Goth; so that we may know certainly the very ultimate source of this favourite nation. In this, however, he is in no small danger of making all nations Scythians; nor indeed is all his art quite sufficient to extricate him from the dilemma. “That most learned father of the church, Epiphanius, (says he), in his work against Heresius, near the beginning, divides religious error into four great periods. 1. Barbarism; 2. Scythism; 3. Hellenism, or Grecian error; and, 4. Judaism.” He also says the Scythians were of those who built the tower of Babel; and his Scythism extends from the flood to this latter event. Eusebius, in his chronicle, p. 13. puts the Scythians as the immediate descendants of Noah, down to Senig his seventh descendant; * that is a space of 400 years, as generations are computed at that period of longevity. This was the Scythian age, the most ancient after the flood; the Scythism of Epiphanius, for his barbarism was before the flood. Eusebius also tells us, that, from the deluge to the building of the tower of Babel, Scythism prevailed. The *Chronicon Paschale*, p. 23. makes barbarism precede the deluge; then Scythism, Hellenism, and Judaism, as Epiphanius.

“Perhaps it may be thought that these ecclesiastic authorities prove too much, as they mark the whole immediate descendants of Noah as Scythians; as by scripture account they are sprung from Noah. But it is the line of Shem down to Serug, and not of Ham or Japhet, who are marked as Scythians; and Shem was reputed the father of Asia, as Ham of Africa, and Japhet of Europe.”

Now we are stepped forth into antiquity indeed! but in the way in which our author argues from scripture, we may very easily discern the same shuffling and want of candour which disgrace his writings in other respects. As we have already taken notice of his giving a good or bad character of profane authors, according as they appeared to favour his hypothesis or not, so he treats the scripture. We have just now seen him quoting the sacred writings as an authority, and we presently find him contradicting the very passages on which his own arguments

ments depend. The existence of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, is only related in scripture; and this scripture-history is connected with the flood; an event which the *wise* and *learned* Pinkerton denies. “The flood, (says he), is now reputed a *local event*. The latest and best natural philosophers pronounce the flood *impossible*; and their reasons, grounded on mathematical truth, and the immutable laws of nature, have my full assent.”

On this last passage it is necessary to observe, that, before Mr Pinkerton had determined so decisively upon a point of such very great importance, he ought to have pointed out to us who these *natural philosophers* are upon whom he rests his opinion, that we might have known whether they are either the latest or the best. But whatever they may be, it must be obvious to every person of common sense, whether learned or unlearned, or whether a philosopher or not, that a *local* flood is impossible, though an *universal* one is not. A local flood indeed involves a contradiction. Water, we know, cannot be piled up in heaps like earth, but will always seek the lowest place. It is impossible, therefore, that *one* mountain, in any part of the globe, could be covered by a local deluge, unless the surface of the whole globe was covered in every part to an equal height; for if any part was left without its due proportion of water, the rest would instantly flow down upon it, and diminish the height of the whole proportionably. But, to return to the Picts.

The next arduous task undertaken by our author, is to trace the progress of the Picts from Scandinavia into Scotland. Here, being destitute of any direct authority, he is obliged to content himself with what he can glean from indirect hints scraped from different authors. His first authority is a *conjecture* of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were Germans, from their red hair, and large limbs, &c. Because Tacitus *conjectured* that they were Germans, Mr Pinkerton positively *determines* that they were Scandinavians; for he tells us that such are the features of the Scandinavians to this day. Tacitus also tells us that the Germans used long swords, and that the latter

latter had long spears, a kind of weapon famous in Scotland to the latest times. Herodian says also that the Caledonians had short and narrow shields, which Tacitus likewise ascribes to the Germans.

Our author, after quoting Dio and Claudian upon the subject, gives the following account of Bede's opinion upon it. "The Britons, (he says), came *de Tractu Armoricanæ*." By the Britons, Bede always means the Welsh; but the signification of his Armorica is not clear. The more common meaning of Armorica is Bretagne; and that the Welsh did not come from that tract is certain. But the term *Armorica* was very lax, and seems to have extended in its real meaning *on the sea*, or *sea-shore*, along the whole coast of Gaul, even up to the Rhine. And that the Cimbri, or German Celts, passed into South Britain from Belgic Gaul, as the Belgæ did long after, is most probable. Bede says that Germanus bishop of Altisiodorum, or Auxerre in Burgundy, went *to Ravenna, pro pace Armoricanæ gentis supplicaturus*, "to supplicate for the peace of Armorica." Auxerre is quite remote from Bretagne, but is on the borders of Belgic Gaul. Bede's Armorica seems to be French Flanders. After all, Bede is here speaking of the first population of Britain, which was certainly by Gael from Celtic Gaul, in which Armorica, in its usual acceptation of Bretagne, lies. Bede, not knowing that the Cimbri had driven these *Gael* into Ireland, might, from the remoteness of that event, confound the two colonies, and, thinking the Cimbri the first inhabitants, and learning that the first inhabitants came from Celtic Gaul, might, of course, derive the Cimbri from Celtic Gaul. The origin of the Britons is the only one given by Bede which seems to need defence; and the reason is clear. The Gael had possibly peopled this country *two thousand* years before Christ, and the Cimbri *one thousand*. No wonder then, that, in so remote events, Bede might be embarrassed. But the Picts had not come in till about 200 years before Christ; the Scots till 258 years after; nor the Jutes till 449 years after. The Picts had expelled the Cimbri; and even their arrival was a recent event, compared with that of the Welsh Britons.

Britons. Hence, though Beda might err with regard to the origin of these Britons, this would never invalidate his other origins. Indeed the origins of nations are the greatest events in history, and leave the strongest traces behind them. Beda's origin of the Angli has never been questioned. That of the Scots has, by the poor antiquists of Scotland, who are the shallowest that ever disgraced a country, and, instead of READING facts, persist in WRITING opinions. The grand points of history, which in all other countries are FACTS, are, in Scotland, OPINIONS; and, by a species of ignorance which *we* term philosophy, (who are the *we*? It is hoped Mr Pinkerton is none of the number), we doubt of all truth, but greedily embrace any fiction. (As, for example, Mr Pinkerton's account of the flood already quoted). This philosophy, we may depend on it, is but another term for superficiality, (*ignorance* he should have said, to make this sentence consistent with the former), for which the writers of Scotland are so noted all over Europe; and that philosophy, which depends not on facts, is worse than ignorance.

Our author, going on for some time longer to rail in a manner neither intelligible nor consistent, proceeds in his dissertation on the Scythians or Goths. In the former part of his admirable work, he had told us that Noah was a *barbarian*, and his son, Shem, a *Goth*! If he called them all *barbarians* who lived before the flood, he should have taken Shem into the number, for he also was born before the flood; but small slips like this are not to be minded in such a learned antiquist. He had already told us that *all* the descendents of Shem were Goths, (though by the by we never heard the appellation of Goths bestowed upon the Jews), and he now informs us that the Scythians, Getæ, or Goths, proceeded from present Persia upward, over the river Araxes in Armenia, and the mountains of Caucasus into little or ancient Scythia on the Euxine. Thence they spread into Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Germany, and Scandinavia. From Scandinavia they proceeded to Scotland, Jutland, and the Danish isles. From Germany they went to Gaul, Spain,

Spain, and Italy; and, at this day, form almost the whole inhabitants of Europe; the few Celts in the British isles, the Finns of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Sarmatians of Russia and Poland, being the sole exceptions.

This our author considers as such strong argumentation, that he imagines it quite superfluous to adduce any other thing, notwithstanding which, he takes notice of Etnius, though from the character he gives of that author, we can scarce imagine why he should quote him. This book, he tells us, is a *wild declamation* concerning the Britons. “It was sent to one *Samuel*, a friend of Nennius, who made many alterations in it; but it is impossible to tell whether Samuel or Nennius are the greatest fools; the book has, however, its value; and though, compared with a Gothic Saga, it be like the *dream* of a madman compared with the dream of a sound mind, it has been quoted by the most severe authors.”

This madman then hath dreamed that the Piks came to the Orkney islands about 300 years before Christ. “Whence, (says he), they seized all the north part of Britain, amounting to one third; and hold it to this day; that is, says Mr Pinkerton, in 858, or just fifteen years after our *Celtic dunces*, the fathers of our history, tell that Kenneth, who in fact only acceded to the Pikiish throne, had conquered the Piks seven times in one day; and, inviting that whole nation to an entertainment, had killed them all,—and eaten them up!”

Mr Pinkerton next tells us, that “the whole passage, taking the words of Nennius and Samuel together, accords with Beda. The Piks, coming from Norway, seized upon the Orkneys; thence went to Ireland, the usual course of the Norwegian invaders, but, finding no settlement, returned to the Hebrides, where they fixed the first seat of their dominion; and where Solinus, about 250, describes their monarchy. Thence they invaded and seized all Scotland by degrees. The Saxon chronicle, written in the 11th century, says that the Piks came from the south of Scythia, that is the south of Scandinavia, where Vika lay as above shown. The

whole ancient English historians, who mention the origin of the Píks, say that they came from Scythia or Scandinavia. Geoffrey of Monmouth, although a Celtic writer, and a most stupid fabulist, yet, in so grand and known a point, must have followed the traditional opinion of his country. He dates the first arrival of the Píks in the time of Vespasian. A second arrival he places in the time of Severus, when one Fulgenius, passing to Scythia, brought assistance from the Píks, and settled them on the north of Britain. A third arrival, under Gratian and Valentinian, is mentioned by an old author, of an *culogium Britanniae*, quoted by Usher. As we have Tacitus and Beda, writers unknown to the Welsh fablers, we know that the periods above fixed are absolutely false.

1. That the Píks could not come in the time of Vespasian, we know from Tacitus and Ptolemy.
2. That they did not come in that of Severus, from Dio and Herodian, who still found the same Caledonii in Scotland that Tacitus and Ptolemy had.
3. That they came not under Gratian and Valentinian, or after 375, when these emperors began to reign, is clear from Eumenius, who mentions Constantius, in 306, as having pervaded *Caledonum, aliorumque Píctorum Sylvas*; “the woods of the Caledonians and other Pícts.” Indeed no one would think of setting these Welsh fablers against Tacitus and Beda, or even against Nennius and Samuel, their countrymen, but older by three centuries*, and which last assert the Píks to have been here 300 years before Christ. But, not to insist on a point where no difficulty occurs, it is well known to be quite another matter to know a FACT, and to know the *date* of it. The northern Sagas, and earliest histories, are *infallibly* right that the Goths came from Scythia on the Tanais; but, when they date this in the time of Pompey, as Snorro does, they only excite laughter, for we know that the Goths could not, as they tell us, pass through all Germany, and go into Scandinavia by Jutland and Zealand, while Cæsar was at that time warring in Germany, and yet know no-

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thing of so enormous an event. But, that the Píks were Goths from Scandinavia, is clear from Tacitus and Beda; and, that Geoffrey and Giraldus knew this great fact, though they erred in the date, is no great wonder. The English and Welsh writers are decided that the Píks came from Scandinavia, and so are the Irish. O'Flaherty, in his *Ogygia*, Part III. treats of the migration of the Pícts into Ireland, and thence into Britain. His authority is nothing. It is that of the ancient writers, whom he and the other Irish antiquaries quote, that merits regard. These say that the Píks came from Denmark and Norway to Ireland; where, finding no settlement, they went over to North Britain. The whole Irish annals that mention the Píkish origin, and, in particular, the book of Lecan, place the arrival of the Píks in the reign of Here-mon, the founder of the Milesian race; that is, as they dream, *thirteen hundred* years before Christ. This shows, however, that, in Ireland, which was, in the time of Beda, remarkable for such learning as then existed, it was a well known fact that the Píks had come to Scotland at a most remote and ancient period.

Thus we have attended Mr Pinkerton through his very confused, contradictory, and *impertinent* performance; which, were it not for its excessive pedantry and ill manners, (which qualities indeed commonly accompany each other), would scarce deserve an answer. As we do not, however, dispute his *reading*, whatever opinion we may form of his *judgment*, we presume that what has been said will be sufficient to convince the reader, that no solid objection has ever been brought against the antiquity of the Scottish nation. Had any direct authority occurred, our author would not have failed to lay hold of it; but, as this has not been done, as the whole rests upon a heap of quibbles, conjectures, contradictions, and absurdities, we must conclude that it was originally invented by the English writers to please their tyrannical queen; that it has been kept up by others out of national pride, and now supported by some renegado Scots, like Pinkerton, to recommend themselves to the English.

Before we conclude this dissertation, however, it will be

be proper to sum up the whole of our author's scheme concerning the migration of the Píks into Scotland. Having determined that the Scythians were the same with the Goths, he tells us that they peopled Scandinavia about 500 years before Christ. The Belgæ and Celtic nations he supposes to have been settled in Gaul 400 years before Christ, and to have come into Britain 100 years after, and to have been established in the south and south-east parts of the island, about 200 years before the Christian era. As, according to his scheme, the Scandinavians sent colonies both into Denmark and Scotland, it was natural to suppose that the Danish colony, on account of the vicinity of the countries, would have been by far the oldest. Mr Pinkerton, however, is of a quite different opinion; because the Pícts did not expel the Cimbri till about 102 years before Christ; but we have already seen that there is not the least reason to suppose that ever the Cimbri were *expelled* by any nation, but rather that they left their country in quest of plunder; and, as for a *colony* from a poor and thinly inhabited region expelling such multitudes, it is such an absurdity as could scarce be supposed to enter the brain of any other than a madman. But to go on with our history.

As the distance between the coasts of Norway and Scotland is only about 250 miles, our author thinks it very probable that such a voyage might have been undertaken even in the most barbarous ages. Ancient historians inform us that the *Suiones*, called by our author the *Píks* of *Vitslett*, had fleets of ships. Tacitus informs us that these ships had no sails, nor were their oars ranged in order upon their sides. As to the voyages they made, we are only informed of their particulars by Mr Pinkerton, who tells us that they ravaged all the coasts of England, Ireland, France, &c. To make the voyages more short and easy, however, Mr Pinkerton supposes that “there were anciently sundry isles between Norway and Scotland, which are now swallowed up. The *Saxonum Insulæ* of Ptolemy are lost; and *Helgland*, an island in the same parts, was, a few centuries ago, reduced to one quarter of its ancient size. If they coasted along the shore

shore of Norway northwards, and then passed over to the isles of Shetland, the passage was only 150 miles."

When the Píks arrived in Scotland, our author imagines that they found there a Cimbrian colony, situated to the north of Lochs Fyn and Tay. The only reason he brings in support of this is, that in that part of the country there are certain *Cumraig* names of rivers, mountains, &c. an evidence than which there can be nothing more vague and ridiculous. In appealing to the authorities of ancient writers, his hypothesis appears evidently founded upon the greatest contradictions imaginable. Tacitus tells us, in general, that the Caledonians, whom Mr Pinkerton will have to be the Píks, were of German origin; Eumenius, that they were the accustomed enemies of the Britons before the time of Julius Cæsar; Beda, that they were settled in Britain *a thousand* years before Christ; Nennius and Samuel, that they came to the Orkneys only *three hundred* years before Christ; and the Irish annals, that they came to Scotland *thirteen hundred* years before him. From these very discordant authorities, but especially from that of *Nennius* and *Samuel*, whom on other occasions he calls fools and madmen, Mr Pinkerton draws this extraordinary conclusion, that "the settlement of the Píks, in the Hebrid isles, may be dated with as great certainty as any event in the earliest Greek and Roman history, at three hundred years before Christ; and their possession of all Scotland, north of Lochs Fyn and Tay, at a century after, or 200 years before Christ." To us, however, the most rational conclusion, from such evidence, appears to be, that the time of the arrival of the Pícts from Scandinavia is utterly unknown; nor is there any certain evidence that they ever did come from that country.

Having thus at length done with the Pícts, we must now consider the origin of the Scots, a people whom Mr Pinkerton treats, on all occasions, with unexampled malignity, and who, if we might judge from his writings, had committed a crime in having existed on the earth.

Britain and Ireland, as has already been remarked, were, according to Mr Pinkerton, first inhabited by the Celts.

Celts. According to him, they came into these countries from the northwest coast of Gaul ; but a Welsh tradition says, that they were driven into Ireland from Britain, by the Cumri, or Cimbri. The names of *Scotia*, and *Scoti*, were appropriated to Ireland and its inhabitants, from the fourth to the eleventh century ; but, about the year 1020, it was applied to North Britain. Beda informs us, that the Scots came into Britain under a leader, named *Reuda*, called by the Irish, *Riada*. From this leader they had the name of *Dalreudini*, or *Dalriads*, the monosyllable *Dal*, in their language, signifying *a part*. Many of the Irish accounts do not mention this colony, and some of those which do are contradictory ; but the following are, by Pinkerton the Great, looked upon to be authentic.

1. From Kennedy we learn, “ that *Connar-Mac-Mogoloma*, king of Ireland, had three sons, Carbre Musc, Carbre Baskin, and Carbre Riada, called otherwise *Ængus*, *Obfill*, and *Eocha*. Carbre Riada, or Eocha, founded the kingdom of the Scots in Britain ; though he himself was no king, but only a captain, or leader of a band, who, having found means to ingratiate himself with the Picts, by assisting them in their wars with the Britons, was allowed to settle among them.”

2. Mr O’Connor informs us, that Carbre Riada, with his Scots, established themselves in Britain in the time of Cormac O’Cuin ; that Riada was cousin-german to Cormac, and son of Conary II. who died in 220. The Colony in Scotland, as well as another in Ireland, was ruled by Riada and his successors, from whom both countries had the name of Dalriada ; but at length the Scots colony was driven out by the Picts, and could not be re-established till the beginning of the sixth century.

3. On different occasions Mr O’Conar repeats this information ; and tells us, that the greater part of Antium, and a neighbouring part of North Britain, were given to Carbre Riada ; and that, in the eighth generation from Riada, the colony, which had suffered much, was re-established, &c. In some of his letters he also informs us, that, about the year 256, Cormac O’Cuin had his authority

thority renounced by the *Ultonians*, (the inhabitants of Ulster), the constant enemies of his family. After defeating these rebels in several engagements, their remains fled for shelter into the isles and continent of Britain. Supplied with an excellent militia, disciplined under the famous Fin Mac Cumhall, (by Pinkerton supposed to have been the Fingal of Ossian), his commander in chief, and son-in-law, Cormac pursued his rebellious subjects into the places of their retreat. The terror of his power brought matters to a speedy issue. By consent or force, he obtained from the Picts a settlement in Kintyre and Argyle, for Carbre Riada, above mentioned. Through that colonization, he left no foreign aid open for his Ultonian enemies, whose power in Ulster he also controuled by stripping them of the territory now called the county of Antrim, with some contiguous districts, well marked by Usher. That territory, as well as the other in North Britain, had the name of *Dalriada* from Carbre Riada, their first vassal sovereign under the Irish monarch, who vested him with authority."

Such is the sum total of the evidence we have for the Scots coming so late into Britain as the English alledge; and it is most evident that it cannot in any manner of way be accounted conclusive. Kennedy gives no authority whatever for his assertions; and Mr Pinkerton owns that O'Connar not only gives no authority for what he says, but also contradicts himself. The worst of all, however, is, that Mr Pinkerton himself, after having treated the Scots in the most scandalous manner for being *Celts*; after having bestowed upon them the names of *Celtic Cattle*, beasts, savages, and what not, at last determines that they were neither Celts, cattle, beasts, nor savages, but good honest Scythians, and sons of Shem, who was a *Goth*! "The Dalreudini," says he, "or tribe of Riada, was certainly led by him from Munster, his own province; and must have been *Scythæ* or *Scotti*, who had subdued the south, east, and west of Ireland, but had not extended into the north, till Riada planted his colony. From the genuine writings of St Patrick, it is clear, that all the people of Ireland were not termed *Scotti*; but that

the Scots were the superior and conquering people, while the common subject race were termed merely *Hiberni* or *Irish*." In what manner Mr Pinkerton can reconcile this with the rest of his writings, we leave to himself to determine.

One thing only now remains to be considered, and that is, how the name of *Scotland* came to be imposed upon the country, instead of *Pikland*; for, it is customary for the *conquerors* to give names to countries, not the *conquered*. In this investigation, our author outdoes every thing we could have imagined. Having proved that the Scots were inhabitants of Ireland; that the king of *Scotland*, with whom Charlemagne corresponded, was in reality the king of *Ireland*; having railed, confounded, and contradicted himself; having told us over and over that Scotland never was called Scotland till the eleventh century; he finds himself, at last, miserably pinched by this question. "How came this new name of *Scots* to be given to a central part of the *Piks* around the king's residence?" From this difficulty, he gets off by a *conjecture*, that it was given by the Irish clergy, whom he again *conjectures* to have been the only learned men in *Pikland*. Not satisfied with this, however, he comes at last to the following curious conclusion: "Perhaps the perversion, both of Irish and of Scottish ancient history, springs solely from one foolish book, the *Origines* of Isidorus; such are human affairs! I suspect that Isidorus is the sole father of the new name of *Scoti* given to the *Piks*, and that the following sentence ruined the history of *Pikland*; *Scoti propria lingua nomen habent a Pictō corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis, cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmate annotantur*. 'The Scots are so called in their own language from painting their bodies, because they are marked in various figures with iron needles, and ink.'

On this conclusion we shall only remark, that it certainly proves one thing, *viz.* that people will sometimes believe the greatest absurdities in nature, rather than admit this simple proposition that they themselves are mistaken. Had Mr Pinkerton admitted this, and candidly confessed

confessed that he had undertaken a cause which could not be defended, it would have done him more honour than all the learning he can boast of. We have done, however, with the controverfy ; and as Mr Pinkerton hath not been able to produce any kind of evidence for his assertions, but hath found himself reduced to the necessity of founding them upon conjectures, and wild inconsistencies, we hope our readers will excuse us for rejecting them entirely, and adhering to those histories to which we have been accustomed.

